

WORKERS' EDUCATION T O D A Y

By MARK STARR

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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 East 19th Street, New York City

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By MARK STARR

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Workers' Education Today*

By MARK STARR

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"The basic purpose of workers' education is the role of an intelligent guide to a new social order. . . . It is distinctly not to be confused with the numerous existing forms for adult education. They are designed for the most part either to give a bit of culture to the student or else to lift him up out of his present job into a higher one . . . Workers' Education will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general, it is not education to be used for selfish personal advancement." (James H. Maurer in President's Report, 5th Convention, Workers Education Bureau, 1927.)

"The workers' educational movement is a movement for special education in the subjects which will enable the workers to accomplish their special job which is to change economic and social conditions so that those who produce shall own the product of their labor." (Fannia M. Cohn, *Justice*, June 1, 1923.)

Not all the advocates of workers' education would agree with the definitions given by these veterans in the workers' education movement. To some, workers' education should merely fill in the gaps left by ordinary schooling in our knowledge about the trade union movement, and increase the immediate efficiency of its members. Most participants, however, would agree, that workers' education should be by and for workers, and that when it is administered jointly with any public education authority or university, the controlling committee should contain direct representatives of organized labor. The concentration of workers' education upon social science and upon social problems marks it off distinctly from education of workers in technical skills for vocational purposes. Its motivation to secure knowledge in order to guide social action in solving social problems differentiates it from any antiquarian news-from-the-graveyard studies or the aimless pursuit of ideas.

To those who object to the narrowing and separatist suggestion of the term "*workers' education*," the facts of economic life, as cited in this booklet, will show the existence of specific educational needs among organized groups of workers.

It is impossible and undesirable that workers' education will ever

*Some of the factual material used in this study is brought up to date from "Workers' Education in the United States" by Eleanor G. Coit and Mark Starr in *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1939, and is used here by the permission of that journal and the joint authors. Those interested will find a more comprehensive treatment of workers' education, its methods, problems, philosophy and relation to progressive education in the forthcoming Yearbook of the John Dewey Society.

JUN 8 1942 Pub. due

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develop in the scope of its activity to compare with the public school system and the colleges of the United States. Rather we think of it as an influential corrective and a temporary supplement to existing facilities. To the extent that workers' education becomes more widely adopted by the labor movement, to the same extent will the colleges and the public school system adopt its ideas. They will give organized labor and social questions a fairer treatment both in quantity and quality. Already in seminars such as that run by the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University, representatives of management and of labor are invited to meet the theoretical economists in discussions of collective bargaining. The Reeves Commission in 1938 recommended that workers' education be recognized in future federal appropriations for adult education, and there are precedents for such government support in England and Scandinavia. The training of trade union organizers and administrators would seem a worth while expenditure of vocational funds. Further, the response received for the new and extended adult educational services under the WPA is causing some colleges, states and cities to undertake such activities on a permanent basis.

In the Old World the knowledge of natural science necessary to mine coal, to invent the steam engine and the power loom was not to be found in the feudal monasteries, and new centers of learning were set up. Yet if we in the New World are wise enough we can improve our social system, and learn the ways of improved democratic processes by adaptation of our present educational institutions. This gives increased importance to the current activities in the field of workers' education, particularly to those carried on by the trade unions.

Although the fine promise of 1935-1937, in the first years of the upsurge of unionism under the Committee for Industrial Organization, has not been entirely fulfilled (partly owing to the division in the labor movement and more directly to the cuts in WPA facilities) much of interest and value is being continued. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the potentiality of workers' education, maintained and utilized by the organized workers, has not yet been scratched.

Within the past six years, however, definite gains have been made which have been held and which have greatly strengthened the movement. Today, the vitality of the work is cheering to those who believe that an educational program is essential to the success of the labor movement and its important functions in a democratic society.

Workers' education has taken on new meaning in these later years. White collar as well as industrial workers now take part. In addition to local study classes and resident schools, there have been forums, recreational groups, music and drama projects organized. Many short institutes participated in by the rank and file have been held, thus bringing new groups into contact with the movement. Gains have been made in using the work of union committees as a basis for informal education of the membership as a whole. New methods of mass education, through movies and other means of visually presented material, are constantly being experimented with. Workers' education is more vital today and more closely related to the activities of the labor movement than ever before.

Varied Patterns

The following snapshots illustrate the variety of the work being done:

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union makes dramatic history by producing on Broadway a musical revue, "Pins and Needles," with a run of more than 1100 shows and three nationwide tours. Other unions are influenced to use the musical revue as an effective agency in matters of social significance. . . . The Steel Workers Organizing Committee calls employers' representatives and foremen into joint classes with union representatives to study how grievances, defense training and production problems can be effectively handled and publishes five handbooks to guide its officers. . . . 4000 Philadelphia members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in January, 1940, watched the dramatic story of their rise from the sweatshop to security, through the union, unfold upon the stage as the climax of a wide and varied program of mass education. . . . Huge exhibits by the AFL Union Label Department in San Francisco and Cincinnati. . . . Social science workshops for making posters, charts and leaflets. . . . Chests of books for use on ships and a union circulating library for the men of the sea. . . . Unions and their members becoming increasingly articulate in a growing stream of histories, journals and these-are-our-lives collections of essays and poems published by the unions and the various summer schools. . . . 1000 ILGWU members stage a pageant, "I Hear America Singing," three times in the Madison Square Garden. . . . At Aliquippa, Pa., where previously it was a problem to be a trade unionist and remain alive,

steel workers have formal classes in trade union problems. . . . A union makes officers' qualification courses compulsory for candidates for paid office. . . . Unions run their own health centers, medical service and hospitalization plans, movie shows, sport leagues, summer schools, weekend and five-day institutes, excursions, social and educational centers, libraries, reading rooms, youth groups, credit unions, consumers clubs, quiz nights, music songfests, bands and radio programs and fish-fries—this is workers' education, new in its extent and variety, spreading through the United States.

Nation-wide Agencies

What agencies are carrying on this important work? There are several types of organizations which promote workers' education. Many international unions have recently organized educational departments, offering activities ranging from informal recreation to classes, forums and leadership training courses. Locals of other international organizations have set up their own programs, sometimes in conjunction with other locals in their area through the central trades council or workers' education committee. All types of union groups have extended their mass education activities.

Workers' education is also promoted through such national bodies as the American Labor Education Service (formerly Affiliated Schools for Workers), the Workers Education Bureau and the Women's Trade Union League, through the various resident schools and by the Workers' Service Program of the Professional and Service Projects of the WPA.

The *American Labor Education Service*, composed of affiliated groups and individual members, has recently assumed new responsibilities and made possible new services. It offers educational facilities to trade unions, workers' education committees, clubs and classes, local labor colleges, community groups as well as to the resident schools. This organization was originally a loose federation coordinating the activities of the workers' summer schools.

Within recent years, however, its functions have grown until it now serves all types of workers' groups. It aids local bodies throughout the country in their educational problems. It is a source for securing study material, and finding teachers by means of its Registry and furnishes advice and information to students and organizations. The publication of pamphlets, bibliographies, lists of plays, etc., are in-

cluded in its activities. It sponsors and helps to set up regional conferences where several organizations feel a need for the stimulation of an exchange of ideas on such subjects as new methods of organizing classes, or the federal Wages and Hours Bill, or social security legislation, or the current subjects of interest to labor. It has run teacher training seminars and workshops. It gives assistance when requested by the educational department of a union in securing teachers for local projects and its board contains members of CIO and AFL unions, some of which have made grants to its limited financial resources. Miss Eleanor Coit is the ALES director.

The ALES conducts regional conferences in the East, the South, and the Middle West. The New England conference, held early in 1939 in Boston, illustrates one of the methods used in developing a workers' education program with groups from various communities. Representatives of 26 AFL and CIO unions and of many other workers' groups came together from 44 communities, to talk about a program of workers' education in New England. Methods of carrying on labor drama and other programs were discussed. A special meeting for teachers was held, in order to interest larger numbers of teachers who might offer their services for workers' classes. A program of dramatics and music as well as an exhibit of material for workers' classes was arranged, in order to suggest other methods of conducting workers' education. "Labor in a Changing World," and "Techniques in Workers' Education" were among the topics discussed at the Midwest Conference run by ALES near Chicago, October 5-6, 1940. Two hundred teachers and leaders in that field from 28 states participated.

An informal but effective means of coordination and interchange of information and opinion in the workers' education movement has been the Washington's Birthday Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education which has been held annually, beginning in 1924 under the auspices of Brookwood Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers. Since the closing of Brookwood Labor College, the ALES has taken the primary responsibility, with the cooperation of Workers' Education Local 189 and other agencies, in continuing these conferences. In 1939 the conference was attended by 149 delegates from 12 states and 36 organizations; in 1940, 156 delegates attended, including representatives of 46 national and local unions.

The *Workers Education Bureau*, founded in 1921, is the educational agency of the American Federation of Labor, which reports on

the WEB in its annual Executive Report and which receives an address from the WEB director, Spencer Miller, Jr., as an outstanding event at its annual convention. The WEB program has included the publication of books and pamphlets and a workers' education news service. It has had field representatives stationed in different sections of the country. Of late, emphasis has been placed on week-end institutes, radio talks, correspondence courses in public speaking, and the publication of leaflets. To assist the newer unions after 1933, classes were run in conjunction with the Central Trades Council of New York City in methods of collective bargaining, the running of union meetings, and administrative procedures.

The Bureau has been financed by grants from the American Federation of Labor, foundations and affiliated unions. The AFL contributed only \$200 a year until 1935 when its grant was increased to \$5,000 and to \$7,500 for subsequent years. (Compared to the \$899,549 spent in 1939 on organizing, the sum does not suggest great relative importance for education.) Other WEB funds have come from foundations (for example \$5,000 from the Carnegie Corporation in 1940) and from one cent per capita from affiliated unions, reported in 1939 as 76 in number. The most important activity of the WEB is institutes run in conjunction with the AFL state federations during weekends or in a three-session one-day program. The annual Labor Institute at Rutgers University in New Jersey has been run for ten years and was claimed at the 1938 Convention of the AFL to have inspired a Bankers and a Farmers Institute in imitation of the WEB effort. In 1938-39, the WEB reported to the AFL Convention two institutes run directly under its own auspices. Regional meetings of AFL organizing staffs are utilized for educational lectures. Maryland and Ohio State Federations reported regular classes.

In December, 1939, a one-day institute was run for the Central Trades in New York City. The WEB gave advisory assistance to the series, "Americans at Work," broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System but was not allowed (according to the text of the broadcasts) to make any open reference to labor unions although, for example, the Sun Shipbuilding Company, opposing both AFL and CIO unions, received incidental publicity, as also did a Hearst fashion journal when the dress industry received attention.

At the tenth successive institute held at Rutgers University, June, 1940, in cooperation with the New Jersey State Federation, five days

were devoted to "Labor and the World Crisis" with sessions on the NLRA, social security and wage-hour legislation, international trade agreements, monopoly and changing technology.

State federations which, in addition to receiving lectures from the WEB representatives, have held forums and weekend institutes—often in conjunction with annual conventions—during recent months include Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Texas, Kansas. Other institutes are planned for North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado and New Hampshire. Among the topics were: shorter work-week, consumer co-operatives, relations to farmer, social security, housing, National Labor Relations Act, administration of labor laws, the world crisis, national defense. A summary of the important speeches was made available in the printed *Workers' Education News*.

Many of the institutes were held on college premises with college faculty members dealing with their special fields. It is safe to say in passing that the university professors get as well as give in these university extension divisions and that the success of these institutes is best measured by their follow-up activities in regular and consecutive study of the problems raised in speeches and single lectures.

Attendance varied at the institutes from the peak of 600 at the two-day forum at Pittsburgh and 300 (218 from trade unions) at the tenth year anniversary five-day institute at Rutgers, to smaller groups of 40 to 50.

The WEB arranged for the three-months tour of Sir Walter Citrine starting in November, 1940, and advised a workers' education project run by Pennsylvania State College with classes at Wilkes-Barre and Bath. Many lectures and talks to religious conferences, college assemblies, to civic, professional, labor and other groups in different towns are regularly given by the director.

As suggested previously, the greatest impetus given to workers' education in the United States came from providing employment under the *Works Progress Administration* (WPA).

The national office of the Specialist in Workers' Education under the WPA in Washington served as a clearing house for activities under the WPA and carried on a nationwide program of education and interpretation, stimulating new interest in communities, preparing material and advising on technical questions. Special supervisors were appointed to stimulate and organize workers' education programs in 35 states.

Non-resident local educational projects were widely extended through the WPA under which, as reported by Miss Hilda W. Smith, the specialist in Workers' Education, some 2,075 workers' education groups had been formed by 1939.*

These projects have been widely scattered in different parts of the country, and many subjects are taught, including current events, English, public speaking and parliamentary procedure, principles of unionism, history of the cooperative movement, Negro problems, American labor history, labor drama, group singing, dancing and many other recreational projects. Teachers are assigned to unions, YWCA's, settlements and other groups, to teach in these organizations which in some instances set up local advisory committees. Many unions benefited greatly from the WPA Workers' Education Project. In many places, such as Minneapolis, an inter-union Labor School functioned successfully. In Colorado, the unions received great help and the Denver Labor College was put on its feet. New York City project had over 4,000 students enrolled.

Thus, starting in 1933, the federal government, through its plans to put unemployed teachers to work, had broadened the base of workers' education. From 500 to 1,000 teachers each year have been employed to develop and teach workers' classes in 35 states. At one time, as many as 75,000 workers each year in industrial centers and rural districts were reached by such classes.

However, in the fall of 1939, the WPA Workers' Education activities were drastically reduced despite influential union protests. Only one executive was left in Washington and 16 supervisors in the states. In New York City classes were not permitted in union premises and the identity of the Workers Education Project and its Labor Advisory Committee destroyed.

To circumvent this death blow and to secure greater flexibility and informality in meeting the unions' needs, the Workers' Service Program was set up in the Professional and Service Projects Division, WPA, to provide leadership in education and recreational activities

*For the record it might be noted that in 1937 in Tennessee and Mississippi, WPA funds were perverted to set up "opportunity schools" to enable runaway employers to train cheap skilled labor. This roused no protest from Hartley Barclay, editor of *Mill and Factory*, Wm. Randolph Hearst and others who denounced WPA support for workers' education in social science. Earlier in 1935 federal vocational education funds had been used in Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, New York, New Jersey and Louisiana to subsidize low-wage textile factories. *Colliers*, November, 1937, gave a full story of the WPA perversion in Mississippi.

for organized and unorganized workers. These activities include:

1. *Workers' Education Classes and Discussion Groups* in current social and labor problems, English, parliamentary law, public speaking, science, the arts, and other fields of study of interest to workers.
2. *Conferences and Forums* reaching larger groups of workers but closely related to smaller study groups.
3. *Recreation, Art, and Craft Activities* adjusted to the interest of workers held at places convenient for these groups. Sports, drama, art workshops, creative writing groups, music, and other activities offer new opportunities for cultural life to workers. Such activities may be extended to workers' holiday camps.
4. *Information on Labor Law*. New legislation affecting labor relations and the security of workers calls for accurate and simple information before workers can make use of these legislative benefits.
5. *Advisory Service* in health, housing, employment opportunities, and other individual and group problems.
6. *Establishment of Centers for Workshops* in graphic presentations of social and labor data of interest to workers.
7. *The Preparation of Materials for Classes*, recreation, and other activities.
8. *Library Services* extended among workers' groups in cooperation with public libraries.
9. *Research Studies* for the purpose of:
 - (a) Aid in planning, promoting, and evaluating an activities program for specific workers' groups; gathering information about the industries and local conditions as related to general and specific needs workers in their own communities.
 - (b) Analyses of content and methods of teaching in classes and also a study of techniques in recreation and information programs.
10. *Work in Radio, Moving Pictures, and Exhibits*. These methods of reaching large groups through visualization and other new techniques may supplement other forms of activities.

In February, 1941, this program was operating in 13 states, with plans for adoption in 17 others. (In six states the program was run under the Adult Education Project). The New York City administrator and some state administrators declined to operate it and only by subterfuge were the unions allowed to run classes in their own premises, the places where they are most likely to succeed. The Workers' Education Division, WPA, in New York City ran only four classes in the Spring and Summer of 1940 and at present writing has seven classes at two centers for its allocated staff of eight teachers and one supervisor.

Because of the sympathetic administration of the state authorities at its inception, the Philadelphia Workers' Education Project, WPA,

did an excellent job. Its leadership personnel increased from 12 in 1936 to 30 three years later. Even in the switch-over to the Workers Service Program, the reduction in personnel and other handicaps such as the 18-months retirement rule, the work in Philadelphia has been continued successfully. A balanced program of class work and recreation, fruitful conferences (with the currently popular Labor Quiz and community singing) have been arranged with the full co-operation of CIO and AFL unions and the published reports of these discussions made available to labor groups along with annotated lists of labor movies, etc. Festivals with dancing and dramatic presentations have been developed.

Individual instances reported show the important services performed by the Workers' Service Program. Millinery workers on strike in Atlanta, Ga. had time for a class in public speaking. Their powers of expression won praise in the subsequent NLRB hearing. In-service training for teachers in the same city wisely involved tours through industrial plants so that they could advise workers and their organizations about labor displacement and speed up. In Georgia, in the period January to May 1940, over 5,000 people participated in 273 groups. A successful training conference for supervisors in the Workers' Service Program was held at Hull House, Chicago, September 30 to October 13, 1940.

Despite popular assumptions that such WPA facilities will fade out with the expected boom in national defense preparations, they will be more than ever necessary to continue the crusade against economic illiteracy, to help workers and the unions learn ways of democratic procedures and to explain the civil rights and liberties which we are now called upon to defend. Such education should be given a permanent place and freed from all the handicaps of operation as a relief project.

Resident Schools

Among the pioneers in the field of workers' education are the resident schools for workers. As their work has grown and enlarged, they have made a contribution both in content and in technique. Today there are six resident schools, five of them associated with the American Labor Education Service.

These resident schools are Highlander Folk School, the Hudson Shore Labor School, the Pacific Coast School for Workers, the School

for Workers at the University of Wisconsin, the Southern School for Workers and the Summer School for Office Workers.* Their courses vary in length and purpose and their policies and programs reflect an attempt to meet different needs. White collar workers, as well as industrial workers, are among the students. Both men and women avail themselves of opportunities afforded by the schools. All are independent bodies governed by their own board of directors, but are closely linked with the labor movement through cooperative relationships of many kinds. The boards include trade unionists and labor educators whose contacts have given them wide experience with working groups. Scholarships to the schools are often raised through the help of unions.

Highlander Folk School is located in Monteagle, Tenn. The community educational program for the mountain people in that area is an important part of the activity through which health, recreational, and other community services are carried on. Two resident terms are held, one in the fall and one in the spring, of six weeks each and its yearly modest budget is only \$10,000-\$11,000. The curriculum includes: how to build the union; labor history; economics; public speaking and parliamentary law; journalism; dramatics; cooperatives. The staff members undertake considerable field work in helping organize neighboring towns and in providing entertainment and knowledge for these groups. (The movie, "People of the Cumberland," tells the school's story most effectively.) A short two-week training course for union members in September, 1940 was followed by the usual six-weeks course with 22 regular and five special students. Currently the school is under fire from the Tories but has received considerable support from liberals and union members including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

The *Hudson Shore Labor School* (formerly Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers) opened its new quarters in June, 1939, at West Park, New York. Students are recruited chiefly from the east and east-central states. The seven-week summer session, such as was conducted on the campus of Bryn Mawr College from 1921 to 1938,

*Two of the oldest and best-known resident schools have recently closed. Brookwood Labor College (Katonah, N. Y.), was forced to discontinue in 1937 after 16 years during which it trained 415 workers, most of whom are still active in the labor movement. In 1940, Commonwealth College, started in 1923, expected to hand over its property at Mena, Ark., to the New Theatre Group, but the property was seized in lieu of a fine of \$2,500 imposed by a local magistrate for alleged "anarchy." Lack of financial support and, particularly in the case of Commonwealth, the unfriendly attitude of the community, were in large part responsible. Both schools offered year-round programs.

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formed the center of the school program. Sixty women industrial workers came together to discuss their current economic problems. Facilities are also available for short institutes conducted for various unions. The unions plan and finance such institutes; the school cooperates in setting up the educational program. In 1939 and 1940 institutes were held by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Laundry Workers' Union.

The *School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin*, started in 1925, draws its students entirely from middle western states, and its program reflects the trends of the labor movement in that section. Men and women (43 is the average enrollment) come from a variety of trades, meeting at the school for a period of six weeks. In addition, an increasing number of two-weeks institutes are conducted in cooperation with various unions. In 1938, 1939 and 1940 these included annually one for Wisconsin locals of Truck Drivers, one for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, one for the mid-western locals of the ILGWU, and one attended by members of several different unions.

Perhaps the most promising development of this school, however, was the program of local winter classes by means of a state subsidy and help from the WPA, carried on all over Wisconsin. Rural workers as well as urban workers took part in this program. In 1937-38, the first year in which state funds were granted for this expansion, over 5300 students registered for the 83 classes run in 35 cities and the 21 rural classes set up in eight counties. In 1938-1939, 25 teachers were employed in the urban program, and about 35 in the rural program.

However, in the elections of 1938 the progressive forces lost control of the state administration and the two-year subsidy was not renewed. The Wisconsin Board of Regents authorized the continuation of the six-weeks resident Summer School and continued the yearly grant started in 1925 to cover the difference between the students fees and the cost of the school. In the WPA Project only a few of the original trained staff remain with drastically curtailed facilities.

A valuable analysis of the trend toward shorter courses, of the composition of the student body in relation to nationality, previous schooling, union experience, etc., and an evaluation of the work of the school were made by Director E. E. Schwartztrauber in his report on the 1940 Summer Session.

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The *Pacific Coast School for Workers*, organized in 1933, is likewise a sectional school, serving the interests of men and women who live in that part of the country. During the four-weeks summer course at Berkeley, the subjects offered include labor history; labor economics; agricultural economics; labor journalism; English; European, social and political movements; negotiations and arbitration; public speaking. Winter work of the school was extended in 1939 and 1940 to include classes in San Francisco (extemporaneous speaking) and Oakland (lessons from labor history), organized by special arrangement with local bodies.

Through 1940 the school continued to receive support from both AFL and CIO unions as represented on its Administrative Board, and its 40 students from 15 unions. Features of the 1940 session were a weekend institute on "Labor and Government" and a varied program of visiting lecturers and debates. *The Yearbook* written by students at the school gives the best picture of its work; 40 publications are issued for the use of students and teachers. Locals in San Francisco of the Retail Department Store Employees, Millinery Workers and Newspaper Vendors are being serviced with teachers in the current winter program. A descriptive article about the school's methods and accomplishments will be found in *Labor Information Bulletin*, August, 1939.

The *Southern School for Workers* has carried on a unique piece of labor education in the South during the last thirteen years. It has now broadened its activities to include not only the six-weeks summer course for men and women and for agricultural as well as industrial workers, but also a winter program of conferences, classes and local educational services to unions. In 1938, 1939 and 1940 the summer school sessions were held in Asheville, N. C. The school provided both Hosiery Workers and the ILGWU with weekend institutes in addition to the six-weeks courses in 1940 for the 23 students enrolled. The graphic arts workshop, emphasis upon dramatics and singing and attention to time studies were features. Typical of its field work was a successful workers' education conference run at Chattanooga, May 18-19, 1940, jointly with the local unions and Highlander Folk School. Like the other summer schools, the Southern issues an interesting scrapbook by its students.

The *Summer School for Office Workers* is the only school planned especially for white collar workers, although such workers are in-

cluded in the student bodies of several other schools. A four-week school and a two-week institute are carried on, planned in accordance with the vacation schedule of the students who come from all parts of the country, with the exception of the Pacific Coast. In addition, a seminar for prospective teachers of workers' classes is also held. During the last three years the school has been held at Chicago.

The curricula as worked out in the Hudson Shore, Southern, Wisconsin and Office Workers' School have a certain uniformity. These schools, which were long associated with the Affiliated Schools for Workers, have given much time and thought to methods of teaching adult workers, carrying on their study over a period of years through analysis and experimentation. Each group has developed its program or met the special problems of its own area in terms of the special interests of the students attending. In all the schools, however, the purpose has been to help the students analyze the economic forces which impinge on their experience, and to give them tools with which to work in continuing their study and activity after leaving the school. The schools have adapted their programs to changing conditions from year to year, and new trends today reflect new needs, as illustrated by the new short courses, and union institutes which have been added to the longer sessions. Perhaps the most outstanding service of all these schools has been in their contribution to a knowledge of methods and lesson materials of teaching in the field of workers' education.

Political Schools

The various labor political groups run their own schools. In New York, for example, there are the *Workers' School* (Communist Party), the *Debs School* (Socialist Party), and the *Rand School* (Social Democratic Federation). Attempts are made to run branches of such schools in other cities. In most cases, these schools offer classes open to nonparty members but they are closely associated in the public mind with a particular political group. Such groups as the *Workmen's Circle* (primarily a friendly society) also organizes classes, lectures and athletic activities.

At the Rand School, courses in Socialism—its theory and practice, current problems, cultural and "tool" subjects, and a trade union institute are included in a program of over 25 items. Recently emphasis has been placed upon training candidates for administration of social

security laws. Some courses are recognized for teacher "alertness" credits.

The approach of the Workers' School (CP) is revealed by its literature.* The organ of the Communist Party claimed on September 29, 1940, that the Workers' School was "an entirely different kind of educational institution" and "a training ground for Marxist-Leninists." And its main interest was thus defined: "A large number of courses in elementary and advanced Marxist science are offered, central to which is the popular course on 'The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.'"

Union Activities

More and more, unions are realizing the great importance of workers' education and setting up their own agencies. Within recent years the movement has been gaining headway steadily, and the variety of classes and projects offered has grown immensely. Some of this work is new; some of it has been conducted for many years.

The *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* set up its educational department in 1917 after "contracting out" its classes to the Rand School and other groups since 1914. In 1937-38 it had more than 22,000 students in 620 classes and groups in 58 cities throughout the country. In addition to the national educational staff, there are educational directors in 25 local unions from Houston, Texas, to Montreal, Canada, and from Boston to San Francisco. Many of the locals such as locals 22 and 91 in New York City maintain their own full-time educational staff, with library class rooms etc. in addition to the service received from the central office. The union in 1937 granted 18 scholarships at workers' summer schools and colleges and held five labor institutes. Two institutes were run at Vineyard Shore (now Hudson Shore Labor School) in 1938; one for ten days as part of the regular School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin.

*In an outline, "Trade Unionism: Theory and Practice" (April, 1940) the first 14 pages of reading material are quotations from A. Lozovsky's "Marx and the Trade Union," and Engels' "British Labor Movement." Excerpts from the monthly journal *The Communist*, from Marx' "Value, Price and Profit," and from Lenin's "Left Wing Unionism," W. Z. Foster's "From Bryan to Stalin" and W. F. Dunne's "The Great San Francisco Strike," with some less important references to "Labor's New Millions," Leane Zugsmith's scrappy definitions, "L is for Labor," to William Weinstone's "The Great Sit-down Strike" and to John L. Lewis' speech to the American Youth Congress complete the reading references except for Sections X and XI where Molotov and Dimitroff are mentioned to support the Browder thesis that "It was against the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact that Britain and France declared war and nothing else."

This was attended by 40 local leaders from the midwest region. In 1939 similar summer institutes were run with a much increased enrollment. The program in 1940 included three institutes at Hudson Shore (103 students) one weekend at Southern Summer School (60 students) and the usual two-week school at Wisconsin with 64 students carrying a class schedule of 5 hours daily.

A program of mass education, calculated to reach the ILGWU's 262,000 members, includes popular lectures, movies, musical, dramatics and radio programs, hikes and excursions. In New York City five social and educational centers with a balanced program of fun and class study are run one evening weekly at the public high schools. Labor Stage Theatre in New York City is a cultural center for labor dramatics groups, a 90-piece mandolin orchestra, a mixed chorus of 120 voices, string orchestra, symphony orchestra, brass band, and dancing group, and was the cradle of "Pins and Needles." Athletic activities are maintained by many locals. Forty-one locals have active libraries and 29 publish their own journals. The National Educational Department's current publication list includes over 100 items of which 250,000 copies were sold and distributed in 1934-40. The most popular of these is the "Handbook of Trade Union Methods," which sold 15,000 copies in its first six months and has been used widely since by organizers and also in college classes. More recent publications have included a collection of labor jokes and stories and "Garment Workers Speak." Victrola records of union songs, music scores for choirs, filmstrips, movies and other visual aids are issued. Additional services for members are provided by the Union Health Center and the summer home Unity House.*

Since 1937 no would-be full-time officer of the union is eligible unless he successfully completes the Officers Qualification Courses. Refresher courses for business agents, classes for members of executive boards, shop chairmen and new members have been developed widely. In the Middle West, classes have been run in time-and-motion study to prepare price committees to discuss new production methods with the experts.

The *Amalgamated Clothing Workers*, in common with the other needle trade unions, has had a tradition of education, rooted in the eagerness of immigrant workers to adjust themselves to the New

*"Workers Education, 1937-40" gives other details too numerous to be described here.

World, and to acquire stores of knowledge, closed to many of them under the Old World oppression. When under the NRA, thousands of shirt makers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere came into the union, a fresh educational problem had to be tackled if the recruits were not to be merely nominal trade unionists. In 1938, a "Department of Cultural Activities" was formally established and seven regional conferences were held to introduce the program. The union has a monthly publication, *Advance*, in which correspondence courses, summer institutes, classes, sports and recreational activities are reported. It joined with other CIO unions in 1939 in the Raccoon Creek Camp Summer School, and reports 205 members attending for one week. The United Laundry Workers (Local 300 of the ACW) has set up in New York a comprehensive cultural and recreational program for young and old.

In the illustrated report presented to the 1940 Convention the Cultural Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said:

"In round figures this program has resulted in the last two years in the following units of action:

"Nine hundred representatives of local cultural activity groups participated in 8 regional two-day conferences, held through the fall of 1938 to discuss cultural programs.

"Five thousand men and women have been engaging in various forms of sports and recreational activity.

"Three thousand have participated as members in choruses, orchestras, dramatics groups, musical shows, dance groups, etc.

"Five hundred children have taken part in various activities, mostly dancing—tap, interpretive, classical, ballet, folk. This activity is of recent origin; it is to be expanded.

"Three thousand members have participated in correspondence courses offered in 1939 and 1940.

"Thirty-five hundred members took part in Active Workers Schools and Officers Institutes operated in ten cities in 1940."

In 1941 the ACW Department of Cultural Activities plans to set up Active Workers Schools in 15 cities with courses extended to four to six weeks. It features prominently its Correspondence School. Two hundred and fifty members graduated in 1938-39 and 500 were estimated to have received the "Certificate of Merit" in 1940. The courses now available at the nominal cost of 50 cents are: "Clothing Unionism," "Trade Union Problems," "Democracy: Aims and Practices,"

"Collective Bargaining," "Public Speaking," "Reading to Advantage," "First Aid for Writers." *

The *American Federation of Hosiery Workers*, which had for many years encouraged educational work in its locals, voted at its 1937 convention to establish an educational department with a full-time director. Outlines on such subjects as parliamentary law, "how to start classes," a pamphlet history of the union and a guide for local publicity committees have been issued.

In the more formal sense of classes, educational activity is carried on by about 20 of the 100 branches of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. These include the large branches—Philadelphia, Reading, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Paterson—and many small branches in somewhat isolated communities. There is opportunity for about 60 to 70 percent of the membership to take part in classes, although, of course, in many communities attendance is small. In 1937-38 more than 500 students attended study classes regularly, and 1500 participated in recreation.

Most of the classes are conducted by the local union itself with WPA help or with teachers paid by the branch. In some places, however, such as Milwaukee and Minneapolis, the organization works with a local labor college or with other unions. In most of these communities, particularly the larger ones, a considerable amount of recreational activity such as children's and adults' tap dancing is also provided. In Reading the Junior Union has flourished and the classes have been run for four years.

Most locals have some athletic activity, with bowling the most popular. These activities are provided by the branches themselves with very little financial aid from the Federation.

The Federation organizes institutes for training its active members. In the summer of 1938 three of these were held one for one week in

*The experiments carried on by the ACW and the United Auto Workers with correspondence courses will yield some interesting results. The large enrollment of 10,000 students by the British National Council of Labor Colleges shows that this method has a place in trade union education. Wastage in this type of education is probably higher than in oral classes. For example, in a study based upon 2,500 students in the International Correspondence School (which since 1891 has signed up four million students) it was found that less than one third completed the lessons and only one in 20 graduated and won the diploma. However 23 per cent did find better jobs as the result of their studies.

Usually workers' education has less incentive than commercial agencies to urge the student to complete his studies. The methods of follow-up, the lesson material and the correction methods used will be important to other unions considering teaching by correspondence.

eastern Pennsylvania, and two for weekends in the South at Highlander Folk School and Southern Summer School. About 150 people in all took part. Five training institutes were run in 1939, two for one week each in eastern Pennsylvania, one for one week at the Wisconsin School for Workers and two week-end institutes in the South. This program was repeated in 1940 with 350 members in attendance. (See *Labor Standards*, October, 1940, for a description of the program.)

Some training for shop committeemen was carried on in 1938 at discussion groups led by outstanding experts, such as Dr. George W. Taylor, impartial chairman in the industry. Five of these sessions were held, two in the suburban Philadelphia area, two in the Midwest and one in Reading, Pa. Attendance at each was about a hundred.

The union has its own camera and projector and makes considerable use of movies with an average better than two showings per week. Most of these are at regular meetings of local unions.

As in the case of the ILGWU and the ACW, the AFHW devotes much space and attention in its weekly journal to these activities. The 1940 Convention recommended to all the branches training classes for grievance committee members and for new members.

Most of the educational activity of the *United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers* has been done by its Local 24 in New York City. From 1936 to 1938 this local conducted its own program of classes with assistance from WPA teachers. The next year it ran recreational activities and made it possible for some of its members to attend courses at the Rand School and the N. Y. Women's Trade Union League. The shipping clerks (Local 90) have now joined the operators in gym and basketball. Members of this union are usually present at the various workers' summer schools; for example, students were sent by the Holyoke, Mass., and the Philadelphia locals to the Hudson Shore Labor School in 1940.

The lively *Hat Worker* carries reports of classes in literacy, citizenship, public speaking, dramatics, choral, lectures, theatre parties, swimming, bowling, basketball and softball groups in Philadelphia. Other activities include bowling and softball teams at Chicago, study courses and recreation at St. Louis, bowling at San Francisco, a champion fife, drum and bugle corps at Danbury, Conn. and recreation groups at Montreal.

Another of the smaller unions, the *Upholstery Workers' International Union*, suffered from the reduction of WPA assistance. In the

spring of 1939, this union reported study classes in 17 cities with sport activity in others. Its Local 61 at Minneapolis had a good season, 1940-41. This interest, however, has since lagged for want of stimulation from central office and the lack of WPA teachers.

The *Hotel and Restaurant Employees International* has had individual enthusiasts for workers' education in its various locals for many years as letters in the *Catering Industry Employee* show. Its Education and Research Department is supervised by the general president, Edward Flore, with W. R. Wasson as director. Training courses were outlined in January, 1940, but they wait upon the modernization of union administrative procedures which will be recommended to the Golden Anniversary Convention in 1941. Copies of agreements made by locals have been secured and their contents made available through an information bulletin. In Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Philadelphia and New York City, locals have run classes directly or jointly with other unions and received WPA help. The Waiters & Waitresses Union, Local No. 1, New York, developed a competent dramatics group with several public presentations to its credit. In view of the relatively small per capita received by the central office, much of the initiative will remain with the locals in educational activities.

The *Oil Workers International Union*, according to its president, Harvey C. Fremming, writing in September, 1937, has "for years, associated with the extension services of the several state universities in states where oil is produced and refined and classes on economics have annually been conducted, attended by members of our Union.

"The scope of our educational efforts has been the economics of wages, real wages and dollar wages, production values and labor costs of industries, and the history of the labor movement. These, in general have been the basic efforts. In addition thereto, pamphlets have been sent out on economic questions concerning itself with the industry." In addition, its locals at Philadelphia, Arp, Pasadena and Carlisle, Texas, have been interested in workers' education activities.

In 1939 the *United Mine Workers* had under consideration stimulating the educational activity of its lodges. John L. Lewis in December, 1937, described the progress of workers' education among CIO unions as "most significant" and opined that "the future will undoubtedly amplify the present trend in this direction." For many years the United Mine Workers paid per capita to the WEB with Secretary Thomas Kennedy serving on its board of directors. From time to time

the *Mine Workers Journal* shows pictures of sport teams, brass bands, etc. It has published information about WPA facilities and the miners in various localities have benefited from them.

The *American Federation of Teachers* in 1939 set up a Workers Education Committee which endeavors to interest AFT locals in workers' education and enlist members' aid in helping in classes run by other unions. This committee has issued a bibliography on labor for teachers, advised and visited locals and participated in the organization of the Annual Washington Birthday Conference. The union journal has carried articles and reports on workers' education and the yearly Convention has made a place for it in its meetings. In Chicago, Philadelphia and New York the locals have run programs of lectures, classes and cultural activities.

The new unions in automobiles, rubber, transport, steel, radio, etc., developed their own education and recreation. The *Transport Workers Union* in its first convention in 1937, provided for an extensive program headed by a full-time educational director because "the very life blood of our organization depends upon the adequate training of the membership in trade-unionism, self-government and the processes of industrial democracy." Classes were at first held in the morning, afternoon and evening to accommodate the different shifts of subway, taxi and bus workers. The union hoped to get at least 10 percent of its 50,000 New York members into classes and activities.

The current program includes classes on public speaking (with its own handbook), parliamentary procedure, principles and problems of unionism, rise of American democracy, dramatics, photography, the lending and sale of books, and aid to members in connection with civil service requirements for promotion in their jobs under public ownership. Prominent are the children's dancing and recreation class, sponsored by the Ladies Auxiliary and taught by WPA teachers, and a wide sport program (boxing, bowling, basketball, baseball, etc.), under its own director who claims participation by 2500 to 3000 members. The TWU teams are active in the New York Trade Union Athletic Association, composed of about 60 CIO and a few left-wing AFL locals and miscellaneous groups.

In 1939-40, officers training courses for section officers, stewards and committeemen, classes in first aid and home dress designing were included. In June, 1939, 160 members received certificates for completing the union training courses.

The five year old *United Rubber Workers*, with 75,000 members, had accumulated in 1938 an educational fund of nearly \$6,000 by allotting 2 cents out of the \$1 monthly dues and put one of its vice-presidents, Thomas F. Burns, and two assistants in charge of the Education and Research Department. In the winter 1937-38 a labor college was run in Akron for 12 weeks attended by about 40 representatives from locals who studied parliamentary law and labor history. There was a summer session at Antioch College for two weeks in 1938 with 20 whole time students and 20 additional for the weekends. Problems of collective bargaining were discussed in 1938-39 by a series of conferences in the union areas of the East and the Mid West. Forty URW members participated in two week-long sessions of the Raccoon Creek Camp in 1939 with emphasis in the lectures upon immediate union problems and tactics. Local 164, Des Moines, was among the active locals in 1940. Local 101, Detroit, tries like other unions to bring education into the business meetings. When in the spring of 1940 the Alleghany Workers' School was set up under Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, Local 26 provided the initial sponsorship. The URW Central Department of Education and Research continues to issue a regular mimeographed bulletin for the use of its local officers and for posting on bulletin boards, in addition to its printed monthly journal and its educational page. In February, 1940, direct educational work by the national office was curtailed to make more funds available for the organization drive. Assistance is given in circulating movies, victrola records and supplying advice to locals. And a pictorial history and a union song book have been published.

At the 1937 Convention of the *United Electrical and Radio Workers*, two pages of President James Carey's address were devoted to outlining an educational program to develop leadership, research and local classes. Previously, in Camden and Philadelphia the union had run programs combining play and study. District 4, New York, opened its union school in February, 1938. Work in District 4 (which contains 33 locals) since April, 1940 has been carried on under Membership Activities Department (education, recreation, welfare, X-ray exams, hospitalization plans, legal advice, compensation, literature, and dramatics.)

The director's report of the membership activities made in May, 1940 showed that among other things a "survey course in trade unionism" had been run in 20 locals of District 4 and completed by 300 stu-

dents. This course in 12 sessions covered the history of American trade unionism with emphasis upon the structure and function of CIO and the UERMW, gave information about grievance and negotiation procedures and described how members could participate in the union meetings, journal, etc.

An advanced course was run for 10 weeks attended by 42 students from 12 locals in two cities. Sessions were of three hours a week, divided among labor history, union problems and public speaking. Several members of the District Board are graduates and many leading members have been developed.

Twenty mimeographed shop papers are issued, in most cases by the workers in individual shops. Sale and distribution of pamphlets are pushed at the shop and local meetings. A six-session course of labor relations was run jointly with the management of the Edison Industries, with shop stewards, foremen and staff members attending. At each session a representative of the union and of management spoke upon such topics as the NLRB, grievance procedure, history of the Edison industries.

Like some other unions, the UERMW has run technical classes. Four have been run for 12 weeks devoted to shop theory and mathematics, blueprint reading and the use of special tools—micrometer, vernier calipers, etc. Strictly speaking such vocational training does not come under the head of workers' education, but the members trained by the union are more likely to become interested in the other classes and the general union activities. The union is currently co-operating with the New York City Board of Education in its National Defense Training Program by recruiting 350 student applications from its members and suggesting skilled union members as possible teachers.

The *Federation of Architects, Technicians, Engineers, and Chemists* has since 1936 run a school in New York City with facilities for 600 students in which technical and vocational work are combined with one or two courses in public speaking and American labor history.

In 1939 the FATEC ran for its fellow CIO unions a class in efficiency systems and labor incentive plans. In the fall of 1940, according to its National Educational Department:

"The Federation Technical School intends to continue its regular curriculum, and in addition to expand its courses in time-motion study, in elementary aeronautics and marine engineering.

"To date the school has cooperated with the UERMW in establishing a course in blueprint reading and machine shop practice for their members. It is at present negotiating with the UAW to cooperate with them in setting up a course in time-motion study for their members, and with the maritime union to set up a course in shipbuilding for their members. The school is also planning to repeat its own course on time-motion study."

In the press announcement of the opening of its sixth year, September 23, 1940, no mention was made of any social science courses but post-graduate courses in engineering, architecture and chemistry designed to prepare students for state profession license examinations and for civil service.

The *American Communications Association* reports study classes, forums, and athletic activities. The constitution of the *Flat Glass Workers*, adopted in 1937, provided for a nation-wide educational scheme.

In its stronghold at New Kensington, Pennsylvania, the *Aluminum Workers of America* have continually developed educational activity. In the AWA Convention of 1938, President N. A. Zonarich strongly urged the locals to develop social, sport and educational classes. Forums, classes, a library and educational movie showings were run by Local 2, helped by Federated Labor Schools in the year 1939-40. This local also has a juvenile drum and bugle corp, a glee club and an active sports program.

The *United Transport Service Employees* (Red Caps) carries on forums, classes, lectures in union meetings, sport activities, etc., in which about 400 of its members, chiefly in Chicago, participate. Its Women's Auxiliary participates actively. As every third man who carries your bag has had college training, the Educational Department of this union does much of its work through mimeographed publications and its journal *Bags and Baggage*.

The *Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers* is another example of a new and relatively small union active in education. Local 1, Camden, ran a library for members, basketball, bowling, and football teams, forums, public speaking and a Shop Officers Training Class with visiting experts. In January, 1941 it started to build its own headquarters with space for sport and study groups. The *Shipyard Worker* in March, 1939, gave an excellent quiz to check the knowledge of its readers. Apart from a labor forum reported from Vallejo,

Calif., and sport teams in Quincy, Mass., and Kearney, N. J., there is little reference to activity in the other parts of the country.

The *United Canning, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers* in its first convention in July, 1938, voted a one-cent per capita tax for workers' education.

To help organize the migratory workers of California the Cannery Workers set up in March, 1940, a training school for 22 leaders, at Chino, Calif. Another was carried through for the Colorado beet workers May 8-20 at Denver, and one in the deep south for field hands and sharecroppers. The month's session at Chino included economics of Californian agriculture, trade union problems and methods of organization (See *N. Y. Times*, March 3, 1940). In the "tool" courses students were to acquire parliamentary law, typewriting, postermaking, etc. The program of the Beet Workers School ran on similar lines and received financial aid from the American Fund for Public Service and teaching help from the WPA and the YWCA.

UCAPAWA News reports ball teams in New York City, Toledo, Orange, California, northeastern Colorado, and four mimeographed local shop papers. District Seven has an educational director. In the September, 1939, issue the union president strongly urged that each district board run a bi-monthly bulletin and study classes.

The *Southern Tenant Farmers Union* issued some valuable outlines for its study groups. In the middle west the *Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union* have carried considerable adult and juvenile activity closely akin to what trade unions have done.

In New York City the *Furriers Joint Council* began in 1934 its athletic program. Forums were reported by *Fur Worker*, March, 1938, in Newark, Easton, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and Los Angeles but more recent details are lacking. A chorus of 60 voices, mandolin orchestra, band, two dramatics groups were included in its 1940 activity.

The free use of a CCC recreation camp near Salisbury, Pennsylvania was obtained by the *Steel Workers Organizing Committee* in the summer of 1938 for two weeks, during which 135 officers and committee members from 33 local unions were brought in for a program that combined study and recreation. Discussion of such problems as collective bargaining and grievance adjustment procedures were led by SWOC staff members. One of the workshops set up under the William Roy Smith Memorial Fund helped the steel workers at Sparrows

Point by getting them to make a play out of their experiences. (This experiment is described in "What Can the Union Do for Me?".)

Officers' training conferences were also held in 17 steel centers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey and New York, most of the discussion being devoted to practical problems of union administration. Regular programs of motion pictures have been provided for several locals through the cooperation of the WPA. The summer camp was held again in 1939 but was not repeated in 1940. Since the summer of 1939 the national office has not carried through any organized educational program. Many locals (Canton, Ohio, Indianapolis) have organized their own recreational programs and utilized local class study facilities.

The *Textile Workers Union of America* had a special educational problem in its vast numbers of new members who knew very little about unionism. Activities include the formation of women's auxiliaries, whose chief function is to create a demand for union-made goods among women, and to foster recreational activities. Junior unions have been organized for the children in the South, and every effort is made to bring the whole family into the life of the unions. Dramatics and movies have proved very popular. Local 178, Clifton Heights, Pa., following the example of other unions, bought itself a holiday home and headquarters in July, 1940. The William Roy Smith Memorial Fund helped the 9000 workers of the Celanese Corporation at Cumberland, Md. to set up their program by running a social science workshop there. The *Textile Worker*, August 9, 1940 shows the union here having a field day.

In classes and conferences and summer institutes dealing with the technological aspects of the industry, TWUA members learn the history, development and economic import of their industry, how to participate in contract negotiations, how to make time studies, etc. Committee membership is also made an educational activity. In the rayon locals, where a serious health hazard exists from carbon bisulphide poisoning, the committee designated to deal with the situation was forced to educate itself about it, then to educate the membership on the facts uncovered. The national office loans a movie projector to the locals and the Research Department runs a book and pamphlet club and supplies factual reports to supplement material in the monthly paper.

During the three years 1937-40, six ten-week sessions have been held

in Washington, D. C. by the *United Federal Workers*, with constantly increasing attendance, the last session having about 650 participants compared to 150 at the start. Classes are formed on the basis of need, one having been a class in the social and economic backgrounds of the railway industry for social security workers handling railroad cases in which 100 enrolled.

Attendance at the school is not limited to Federal Workers members although many of the volunteer faculty do belong. Students, who pay \$2.50 per course, have come from 20 different unions. In many cases, the school and its classes have served as a union recruiting agency, many new members having been signed up as a result. In addition to classes a workshop, library, and forums are run; also drama groups, dancing and entertainments. The prospectus lists some 25 courses including shorthand, library techniques, pictorial journalism, conversational Spanish, French reading course, speed dictation and statistics in addition to the usual social science subjects. The administration control is shared among various CIO unions in Washington but students are drawn also from AFL unions without differentiation. Apart from an attempt in 1939 by government employees in Madison, Wisconsin, to follow the example of the Federal Workers School in Washington, there is no nation-wide activity in education by the UFWA. Jacob Baker, former president, commenting upon the Washington school wrote:

"People like things of vocational value second only to things of recreational benefit. Third in preference is so-called labor education involving the history of trade unionism, economics, social problems, etc. We feel, however, that our program is useful because it does gradually develop a more enlightened interest in trade unionism and social problems." The *Federal Record* (October 22, 1940) reprinted the report made by the Education Committee to the first UFWA Constitution Convention listing as the first of seven aims: "To train union members to a better understanding of the work of their unions . . ." "Opportunities of the individual worker for advancement" was placed seventh. All locals were urged to follow the Washington example and set up programs.

Almost all the 85 locals of the *United Office and Professional Workers of America* now have educational committees which plan activities that vary from locality to locality, and include dances, inter and intra-union basketball games, swimming contests, classes in the theory of

trade unionism, and in economics, choral, orchestral and dramatic groups, forums on current events, health, art, literary topics, social psychology, the National Labor Relations Board, the American Labor Party. These activities vary with the community. Some examples follow: the Book and Magazine Guild in New York conducted, in the fall and winter of 1938-39, classes in principles of book publishing, magazine making, type faces and their use, workshop course in book design; book publicity and promotion, photo-engraving, manuscript reading, selection and sale, copy editing and proofreading. The New York Joint Council, composed of representatives from all the New York locals with a total membership of about 16,000, had in 1938-39 a diversified program of some 25 activities open to all members in New York. The estimate of students for the year 1939-40 was 400 in craft classes, 500 in gym and swimming, 150 in dance, drama and chorus and about 5000 reached by forums and meetings. It also has inaugurated a health and hospital service; a play contest, in cooperation with the New Theatre League; and a consumer service in cooperation with Consumers' Union.

Seven craft courses were offered by the Advertising Guild (Local 20) and 8 technical courses for publishing workers by Book and Magazine Guild (Local 18). Stenography and Office Practice were offered to the office workers (Local 16), in the sessions of 1940. The usual fee was \$10 per course for members and \$15 for non-members. Like other unions, the New York Joint Council ran in 1939-40 a course in training for active leadership and one on trade unions and democracy. In the current year additional courses in legislative activity and health were featured.

Before its internal factional difficulties in 1937-38 caused a temporary halt, the *United Automobile Workers* was outstanding among the new unions for its educational work. Its first constitution contained a provision that five percent of the union's revenue should be set aside for education. The educational director's report to the convention, 1937, showed that in the ten months ending June 4, 783 auto workers had attended 203 weekly evening classes in 16 automobile centers in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Missouri. Some 300 students from 66 locals attended the 8-day summer schools conducted by the department and eight members went on union scholarships to the six-week workers' summer schools at Berkeley, California and Madison, Wisconsin. Pamphlets on the duties of shop stewards

and methods of collective bargaining, occupational disease, the Wagner Act, "You Auto Know," etc. were published, and large quantities of material from other unions and labor schools were purchased for class use. Baseball teams in 28 locals, a class to train calisthenics teachers, a union bowling tournament of 500 teams for the 1937-38 seasons and a football league were features of the athletic program. A daily radio program was given from Detroit. Movies of organizational and educational activities were made in cooperation with the Film and Photo League. Naturally the split and the attendant distraction reduced considerably the educational work, although a program is again being built up. The union rents projectors and movies (including the documentary "United Action" on the 1939 auto strike) to its locals and circulates a special movie list. Bands, orchestras, glee clubs, camera clubs and varied sport activities have functioned successfully. Several of the large locals have set up libraries (notably the West Side local in Detroit which took over the Brookwood College collection) and clubrooms for classes; locals have committees on health, housing and relief. Two one-week courses were run at Curile Pines Center in the summer of 1940 with a total of 192 students; three correspondence courses have been made available. In June, 1940, 49 education committees and 42 movie showings were reported and 29 classes already in operation.

The 1940 Convention resolution and statement on education stressed the need for a "thorough understanding of the labor movement" in preparing members to shoulder office and to give them something to do by cultural, academic and recreational activities. While the Convention voted down a proposal to make mandatory the attendance of local officers at classes, it did require locals to set aside two and one-half cents of their dues for local education. An ambitious program of 11 education parleys in September and October was announced by the union journal to launch the 1940-41 program, which includes a UAW training school in Detroit. A mimeographed monthly bulletin, a handbook for stewards, a guide for discussion groups, and outlines, "Economics of the Auto Industry" and "Aviation Industry Economics" have been distributed. Committees to cover the towns of Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, La Crosse, South Bend, Muncie, and Anderson, Ind., have already been set up and education meetings are planned for Ohio, Michigan, New York and other states. The current bulletin shows an encouraging spread of activity.

Usually in workers' education (in contrast to the individual advancement promised in vocational education) emphasis is placed upon group study of social problems with a view to group action for their solution. The Career Service School run by the *State, County and Municipal Workers' Union* at first sight seems a departure from this accepted notion. But the members of this union are in civil service and have peculiar and immediate needs. When your vocation is the enforcement of social legislation, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act, then you must study labor problems and social science to do your job properly and the usual opposition is altered. This union's tactics too must be different. Only the employer-chisellers would rejoice if factory inspectors went on strike; as in the case of teachers and the firefighters, that method of protest is out.

The George-Dean Act, 1936, specifically makes available federal funds for the training of public service employees. The training facilities, however, have not kept step with the increased demand made by the growth of civil service personnel. Private cram schools were costly and deceptive; colleges and educational institutions were slow in providing facilities. Naturally the union seized the opportunity to service its members and provide them with the training necessary for inspectors in Wages and Hours, referees in unemployment cases, etc. The SCMWA has issued study guides which are competent and free from any obvious radical or labor tinge. (For example, the compendious Study Guide for Junior Inspector, Wages and Hours, U. S. Department of Labor, does not mention the Marxian exploitation theory and only approaches it in its reference to John Davidson's "Bargaining Theory" in which "Labor" is treated as a "commodity.")

The following is part of a summary supplied by Alexander W. Taylor, national SCMWA representative:

"In our New York District alone we have, in the past three years, had approximately 5,000 students attending this type of professional training class. The variety of courses we offer is as widespread as the professions found in the service and our curriculum in the past year and a half alone has included courses in immuno-chemistry, bio-chemistry, medical social work, case work, supervision, elementary and advanced clerical work, organization and director of playground activities, training for social investigators, principles of public housing administration, courses for law and court stenographers, typists, accountants, statisticians, employment counsellors, inspectors in wage-hour administration. Our instructors have been either instructors from

the staffs of nearby schools or colleges, or instructors who are at present in administrative posts in the public service.

"In addition we have instituted classes in the history of American trade union movement, union-leadership training classes, etc. Our leadership training classes have one distinct feature in that all the students enrolled in the classes are given project assignments during the period of the course which they work out in conjunction with members of committees within the class itself. About 230 persons took the training course in the two years 1939-1941."

Sport activities, dramatics, forums and round table discussions on current problems have been maintained in New York, Philadelphia and Minneapolis.

Trade union assistance to help members improve their technical skills is no innovation; it is, in fact the oldest form of union education, and smacks of English Guilds. The *Journeyman Barbers' International* runs a school for barbers and has a barber science correspondence course with its own textbook. The miners' unions have participated in setting up exams for firemen and inspectors. Teachers' unions run "alertness" courses. The printing unions have set up their own schools and co-operated with educational authorities. The needle trades unions in New York City are represented on the advisory board of the elaborate Central High School of Needle Trades. At its own expense of almost \$2,000,000, the *International Printing Pressmen's Union* has promoted an educational and research program to serve its 50,000 members and 1200 registered apprentices. It set up in 1912 its own Technical Trade School. New equipment is secured by the school at least six months before it is put on the market. Union members are given intensive training courses of three weeks to six months in duration to learn new techniques and acquire all round technical ability.

According to Thomas E. Dunwoody, Director of the Pressmen's Technical Trade School: "approximately 2,000 men have taken advantage of the training offered here. Between 7,000 and 8,000 men have completed correspondence courses and a majority of these have, while doing so, stood local examinations and final examinations conducted by the Technical Trade School. In addition to this, about 600 have completed courses in our branch schools. We estimate that the total would be 10,000 in all departments."

However, the practical difficulties of a union shouldering the heavy burden of technical preparation for large-scale industries should be

remembered. Public taxation revenues and employer subsidies are much more likely to be secured for this purpose than for training in social science and in making the union itself more effective to tackle social problems.

State and City Labor Groups

In addition to the various national agencies, and to the work of unions described here, workers' education activities in this country include many local projects of other types. Many central labor unions have active education committees such as in Toledo, Ohio, and Baltimore, Maryland. In Toledo (January, 1940), a special room with books and material for studying labor problems was secured. Baltimore has run panels and dialogues to inform members about social security problems and co-operated in setting up exhibits in the local museum.

The *Ohio State Federation* and the *Indiana State Federation* have for many years carried on educational conferences and classes. Ohio in 1937 had an educational director and carried through an extensive program of radio talks. Indiana has arranged dinners, meetings and conferences. Its report (1939-40) says:

"Three regional conferences, several local meetings, one general conference and the Second Annual Institute were held; all of which were well attended by officials, delegates and members who participated with enthusiasm and sincerity. University, college and school officials responded to our request and they, as well as the many speakers, gave most hearty cooperation."

The three week-end regional conferences were held at University of Notre Dame, Junior High School at Vincennes, and Central High School at Fort Wayne with discussions led by educators and labor leaders. The second week-end annual state institute was held at Purdue University. Among the topics discussed were "Labor's Responsibility and Opportunities in Vocational Education" and "Training the Future Labor Official." The printed report of the first conference in 1939 contains many valuable exchanges of opinion.

Latest baby among local groups is the *Labor Education Council of Kansas City, Missouri*, which grew up out of a dinner meeting held at Kansas City University in 1939 and at the instigation of the Workers' Education Bureau received the endorsement of the Central Labor Union (AFL). Registration blanks were circulated for labor history

and economics, propaganda analysis, labor legislation and civil rights, training for union service, public speaking and conduct of meetings. Class rooms will be available in the Kansas City University. Individual and group membership for unions, social agencies and religious institutions can be taken out in the council. In addition to running a school the council hopes to be a resource group to help plan classes, institutes, forums, etc.

Kenosha (Wisconsin) Workers Educational Council stands out as having successfully combined CIO and AFL unions in its activities. In 1937 it published "Collective Bargaining Procedures" (reprinted in part in *Kenosha Labor*, which journal has itself a high record as an educational medium) which made a comparative analysis of the methods used by 10 local unions to make a useful guidance manual. Later it ran a "Union Clinic" to deal with the problem of interesting and activating union members and helped to run the Wisconsin Workers' Education Conference and set up councils similar to its own throughout the state in the boom years of 1937-39 before the state subsidy was cut and WPA facilities greatly reduced.

Typical of the joint action possible in Wisconsin was the first conference held early in December, 1938, at the call of the State Federation of Labor. The State Teachers' Federation, the Farmers' Equity Union, Cooperative Milk Pool, and the Northern State Cooperative League considered their joint educational interests. Among the problems discussed were equalization of school opportunities, improved school facilities for unemployed youth; effective teaching of cooperation and conservation in the schools; the extension and financial support of workers' education; a more elastic apprenticeship law to permit the indenturing of apprentices to employer groups and to trade unions; the extension of workers' education to apprentices; and farmer and worker representation on school boards. *Kenosha Labor* (January 30, 1941) reported the third such educational conference in which the Wisconsin State Federation, Farmers' Equity Union, Wisconsin State Federation of Teachers, the Central Co-operative Wholesale and the Midland Co-operative Wholesale discussed public school education, workers' education, co-operative education and vocational training, National Youth Administration, and defense training.

Outstanding among CIO groups is the *Ohio State Council*, the annual report of which reveals continued and effective work by way of annual workers' education conferences, and the production and sale

of study pamphlets, quiz tests, and guides to recreational activities. (See "Officers Report Ohio CIO Convention, 1940" for details). Unfortunately few other CIO councils are as active as in Ohio. What J. Raymond Walsh wrote in the *New Republic*, November 10, 1937, still holds:

"The CIO needs a good many things, but few more than workers education: not only to train workers how to manage their organizations, but to inform them of the kind of world they live in. They need to learn what their labor movement is, why it has existed in all capitalistic countries, where it is going, what the hurdles in its path will be . . . the CIO as a whole has given little evidence of concern for these activities. No exploration of educational needs has been made."

Too many of the CIO organizers have reasoned that first organization problems must be tackled and then in a period of relative peace (which rarely in fact ever comes) education facilities will be organized. This static view ignores the necessity of simultaneously organizing and educating and thinks too much in terms of formal methods of education.

At the Pittsburgh Convention, 1938, when the Congress of Industrial Organization was started, a conference of educational and research directors was held. However, publicity work received the most attention.

CIO councils recently reporting study classes and recreational activity include Detroit, Birmingham, Alabama (baseball team that reached fourth round in National Amateur Baseball Tourney); New York City (two conferences, one weekend institute and two directive bulletins issued before internal difficulties on Roosevelt nomination, and recently a training course of eight lessons for 53 members of women's auxiliaries); Philadelphia (a conference in 1938 and cooperation with the local WPA); Baltimore, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Akron, South Jersey, Oregon and Washington states.

Local Labor Colleges

Important among local agencies are the non-residential labor colleges or workers' educational councils. The history of workers' education in this country includes repeated attempts to organize local labor colleges. Such projects today may be found in such widely separated centers as New Haven, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The *New Haven Labor College* has stood the test of many years.

Its classes are attended by students of many trades. The college is sponsored mainly by the Labor and Religion Foundation and staffed largely by instructors from Yale University who give their services free. Classes meet one evening a week in quarters provided by the University. The registration in 1939 was 120, representing a larger number of unions than in the past. The unions include the ILGWU, and the ACWA, the Cigar Makers, Typographical, Machinists, Brewery Workers, Carpenters and employees of the Connecticut Department of Labor. In addition to the usual subjects, a course in cooperatives was added in 1939 and the courses in labor law and labor history proved so interesting that it was decided to continue them for an additional month. The current courses started in November, 1940, include labor contracts, labor legislation, American labor movement, parliamentary law and public speaking.

The four-year old *Federated Labor Schools* in Pittsburgh reported six central courses in February, 1940 (as compared with 10 previously), including industrial relations, in which each student presented a survey of the set-up in his own industry. Wood carving was among the skills taught in the Creative Arts class. In the visual education class it was proposed to teach the union representatives how to operate projectors to increase the educational movie showings. As reported in the *FLS Newscaster*, a good utilization of the dramatics group was a March-of-Time presentation of the high spots in the history of the United Mine Workers upon the occasion of its jubilee. Volunteer school and college faculty members served as teachers. (See *Harvard Business Review*, Winter issue, 1940, for a review of the aims and methods used.)

Apparently the 10 classes in outlying communities with 500 students in attendance, as reported for 1936-37, have not been maintained for lack of financial support, and the forum and radio talks service have been somewhat reduced although the Aluminum Workers (New Kensington) and the United Radio and Electrical Local 601, East Pittsburgh, continue their forums. Lack of recent reports and the resignation of the secretary to take work elsewhere are ominous. Probably no plan of workers' education adequate to this important center and the nearby industrial area will succeed until the SWOC and the United Mine Workers, as part of a nation-wide plan, officially give it the permanent financial support hitherto withheld.

The *Minneapolis Labor School* suffered a severe set back when de-

prived of much of the assistance received from the WPA. It has always brought co-operatives, consumers and farmer groups into touch with the trade unions. In the year 1938-39, more than 60 organizations (44 of them unions) sent 214 students. Twenty-eight different subjects were offered in 58 classes, representing a consistent increase since 1936. Classes were also offered to unions in their own headquarters and a yearly average of 1000 students were served by 75 classes. Library, lecture, advisory, research, information and trade training, recreational and summer camp facilities were also provided. Because of the tie-up with Central Labor Union and the local unions, the Workers Educational Council, which runs the school, will probably weather the set-back caused by the reduction in WPA service.

In the neighboring city of St. Paul, the Trades and Labor Assembly decided in September, 1940 to continue its sponsorship of *St. Paul Labor College* and contribute \$200 toward cost of operating. During the last year, 151 persons registered, representing 31 local unions. The subjects offered were parliamentary law, public speaking and English, current problems, consumers' cooperation, labor law, commercial law, bookkeeping and shop mathematics, and blueprint reading. The college expects to offer for the year 1940-41 these same courses, with the addition of one on consumers' problems and possibly further vocational subjects.

In the South at High Point, North Carolina, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, conferences were held in May, 1940, to discuss how can workers' education help to build the unions. The Chattanooga conference was the third of its kind and received considerable press attention.

Local Union Groups

The relative autonomy and financial resources of the locals and national headquarters vary from union to union, and often materially influence the educational activity. Beyond doing a first rate educational headquarters vary from union to union, and often materially *International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers* does not have a nationwide scheme of classes. However its Local 3 in New York, which is bigger and richer than many national unions, has its own Workers' Educational Department set up in 1939. For about 15 years this local has provided technical classes for its members to improve their skills and increase safety in the use of electrical appliances. More than 5000 union apprentices and journeymen have graduated in these trade

courses. Mr. H. H. Broach, formerly president of the national union until forced into retirement by ill health, is in charge of this work.

A local without the strength and experience of the IBEW, Local 3, is Local 122, Los Angeles, *United Shoe Workers*. Here in a membership of 900, classes for new members are necessary. In addition, classes for shop stewards and executive board members were successfully carried through and the "textbook" for the class was the new agreements which were examined and explained point by point. In New York City, Local 65 of the *United Retail and Wholesale Employees* ran a musical revue, "Sing While You Fight."

Although not engaged primarily in workers' education, the *Women's Trade Union League* has played an important role and its branches usually provide facilities and encouragement for women's auxiliaries.

At its 1913 convention the League gave a distinct impetus to the cause of workers' education through the establishment of a training school for active workers in the labor movement, the first of its kind in the country. It awarded long and short-term scholarships to selected trade-union girls, thus giving them the opportunity to train for informed and effective leadership in the trade-union movement.

The work now carried on by the New York League may be regarded as falling roughly into three parts (Annual report, 1939-40):

1. Regular classes in trade-unionism and other labor problems.
2. Classes in English and current events and public affairs.
3. The classroom-without-walls program.

The trade-union classes deal largely with collective bargaining and with organization problems in industries employing substantial numbers of women, such as the clothing industry and hotels and restaurants. The public affairs course and the classroom-without-walls program are designed largely to train trade-union members to assume and carry out active duties and responsibilities in connection with labor legislation, problems of government and social control, and the relation of labor to government, industry, and the country as a whole.

In all classes an effort is made to enroll students who would have the opportunity to put their training to immediate and useful purposes, chiefly in their unions or in the League. For this reason members who attend these classes are selected by the unions. The 300 students who attended the classes during the year 1939-40 came from 40 locals of AFL and CIO unions, representing a large variety of trades

and occupations. The lively report "The Misses Smith Go to Washington," shows how girl students in the matter of lobbying for laws, learned by doing. Among the innovations in 1940-41 are a radio workshop, a course on Democracy and Fascism and the New York Legislative Session which continues the political activity in lobbying, etc.

The *Association of Catholic Trade Unionists* in New York City and Pittsburgh has started workers' education. This is probably the only case of labor schools run under a religious denomination, although attendance is not confined to Catholic union members.

In December, 1937, the *Crown Heights School of Catholic Workers* was opened in the Brooklyn Preparatory School. There were courses in labor relations, history and progress of unionism and on the labor encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI. Public speaking and forums were planned. The two-year courses opening in 1938 had the support of union officers and included: "God, Government and the Working Man," "The Riddle of Unrest: The Wrong Answer, Communism; The Correct Answer, Catholicism," "Right Way to Run a Union Meeting," "Art of Public Speaking and Straight Thinking and Correct Speech." In the current year an enrollment in excess of the 285 of the previous year was expected. Lecturers included a trial examiner of the New York State Labor Board; and one course in "Labor Relations According to Catholic Principles was added." A series of eight weekly round table conferences on current problems addressed by prominent Catholics was announced in January, 1941.

In New York City the *Xavier Labor School* under its director, Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, makes available labor history, public speaking and parliamentary law—the latter to prevent minorities stealing union control. The director claims that the school has received "hearty approval of union leaders and employers alike." A "just social order" with the maintenance of "the natural classes of society in their proper relationships" protecting the worker from both class war and dictatorship is the asserted aim of the school.

Three other ACTU workers' schools in 1940 announced weekly classes: Fordham University, St. Nicholas of Tolentine and St. Marks the Evangelist. Dr. John P. Boland, chairman of State Labor Relations Board, is also director of the *Catholic Labor College* in Buffalo, New York, the faculty of which in its session opening in the fall of 1940 "will continue to stress the training of sane leadership in labor unions through intensive courses with small groups."

In Kansas City, Missouri, the Rockhurst College (Catholic) has set up the *Kansas City School for Christian Workmen*. Father Friedl, who heads this school, reported to the Trades Council that it hoped to double its work in 1940-41 and raise the student body to 250-300. Plans are being made for participation by women. A school for employers is also planned with joint conferences to discuss capital-labor relations.

In Pittsburgh the ACTU has among its officers both AFL and CIO union leaders. It offers time study and rate setting, labor laws simplified, labor and social ethics, public speaking and parliamentary law, labor history, economics, and logic (straight-thinking) in two centers open weekly.

"The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," wrote Secretary Marie Connolly in October, 1940, "was organized in Pittsburgh in August, 1938. The original group started in New York in February, 1937. There are about 20 groups throughout the country. Last October we ran a Workers' School for 10 weeks in Pittsburgh with 129 in attendance. In January we started another session, branching out into another school in a different section of town. No tuition is charged but there is a registration fee of \$1.00. Those unemployed or on strike pay nothing.

"On October 14 we opened two schools with the possibilities of opening another two in the outskirts of the city. Twenty teachers comprise our voluntary staff. Space is allotted to us free at two Boys' Catholic high schools. Catholics, non-Catholics, union and non-union members, shop workers and white collar workers are welcome at the sessions. It is strictly non-sectarian."

There has been no sign of the ACTU attempting to set up dual unions as the Catholic Church did in Montreal, although the leaders of the Transport Workers Union, New York City, charged in March, 1939 (*Transport Bulletin*), that the Xavier Labor School encouraged the protests of workers dismissed from the IRT subways. The failure of some trade unions to provide educational facilities themselves leaves open the possibility of outside action by religious and other groups, which may not be a long-time unifying and healthy measure. The Federal Council of Churches and many individual ministers have creditably assisted in workers' education by publicity and teaching service. The ideal situation is when the education is carried on by

and for the workers themselves with friendly assistance but not control from non-worker groups.

Social Settlements

Social workers, confronted since 1933 with large scale social problems, have become more alive to workers' education. This is to be seen in the activities of the settlements.

The *Henry Street Settlement* in New York City has a workers' education center which is now in its seventh year. It has a regular program of free classes ranging all the way from elementary English to social psychology, and has used teachers from both the WPA workers' education and adult-education groups. The students—about 500—are residents of the neighborhood and constitute a mixture of nationalities and backgrounds. Visual aids, such as movies and exhibits, are used to supplement forum talks. When the topic was pneumonia and diphtheria, a small laboratory was set up so that people could see how a patient's sputum was typed in the treatment of pneumonia. Economic study is applied to the question of rents, price of milk, meat, etc. A civic education committee, formed three years ago, follows what is happening in city, state, and national Governments and spreads information on issues of interest to the neighborhood. This is described as "an experiment in practical civic education, based on the realities of the present instead of the glories of the past."

In Chicago, two groups which have had workers' education programs are the *Chicago Commons* and *Hull House*. Miss Charlotte Carr at Hull House has added workers' education teachers to her staff and co-operated with the Chicago unions. Glenford Lawrence and his colleagues at the Chicago Commons have used visual aids and tried to reach workers who are not covered as yet by unions.

Many community groups and adult education agencies have recently broadened their programs to cover activities which may be included in this story. For many years, the *Young Women's Christian Association*, through its industrial department and to some extent through its business and professional department, has organized its program around the economic interests of workers, attempting—especially with unorganized workers—to help them discover their relation to the world in which they live through a better understanding of its economic and social problems and in some instances helping the girls to secure contacts with union organizers and discussing social and

labor union problems in their summer camps and conferences. In 1940 five 10-day conferences were attended by 277 industrial workers. The local secretaries especially of the industrial department, have for many years cooperated with the recruiting and finance committees for the summer schools.

The work is carried on through social meetings and activity projects of many kinds, as well as through more formal classes. In 1937, there were 915 industrial groups in 420 associations; 34,940 individuals took part in the groups.

In 1940 the figure of participants was 31,837 with the major groups factory and household workers and a sprinkling of mercantile, laundry, telephone and other workers. Most of the activities are recreational with an emphasis upon friendship and health, and the girls are encouraged to take responsibility of leadership in their own programs.

Civil liberties, job discrimination on the basis of race and nationality, wages, hours, unemployment, trade unionism, social security, housing, health are typical topics discussed by the industrial groups. Often study is followed by action such as the campaign to get household employees covered by the social security law, protesting against the poll tax and supporting anti-lynching bills and housing and health legislation.

There are many organizations which, in their concentration upon social problems as their subject matter, come within the definition of workers' education. Such a group as the *League for Industrial Democracy*, for example, has for 35 years run lecture series in various parts of the country. More recently it has conducted summer schools and institutes. However, such a group does not get its main financial support from organized labor nor is it controlled by the labor unions. Rather it seeks to interpret the labor unions to the community and directs, in this case, its attention upon colleges and college students. Membership by individuals is based upon their acceptance of an agreed social philosophy such as "production for use and not for profit." (See "Thirty-five Years of Educational Pioneering," one of the L.I.D. pamphlet series).

The *New School of Social Research*, although dealing with the same subject matter that is treated in workers' education, is maintained by bequests from individual donors and serves at relatively high fees individual professional and white collar workers whose educational background is richer than that of the average trade unionist.

Many New York workers listen in to Cooper Union forums, Labor Temple lectures and classes, Town Hall forums and discussions. Forums were run in various parts of the country up to 1939 by WPA funds under the instigation of Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker, and continued by the U. S. Office of Education in co-operation with the states in 20 established centers. There are such well established public forum centers as those in Boston and Pittsburgh. (Mary L. Ely's "Why Forums" reveals how nationwide and varied these lecture and discussion agencies are.) Yet the primary appeal of these groups is not to organized labor as such. An alert workers' education program will continue freely to use the resources provided by the foregoing groups. It will also utilize printed materials issued by League of Women Voters, Co-operative League, Consumers Union, Public Affairs Pamphlets, Foreign Policy Association, Federal Council of Churches, Council for Social Action (Congregational), to mention only a few such agencies for social enlightenment which are not, strictly speaking, carrying on workers' education as are those organizations described in this pamphlet.

Trends

As might be expected, activities in workers' education are closely related to current happenings in the union. Skits and simple plays are used to help win a majority in NLRB elections. Installation programs for new ILGWU locals in the Middle West are now carried through by the nearest educational director who stages a play, a style show and the singing of union songs. Whereas previously Christmas parties for young and old were provided by the employer, now the union runs these affairs as part of its regular work. Union locals also use dramatics to win public opinion to their side. For example, New York Local 5 of the Amercian Federation of Teachers in 1939-40 produced "Child Story," using the living-newspaper technique, to resist proposed cuts in the educational budget. Chicago AFT Local 1 continues to make regular use of the radio to put its case before the public. During the presidential election of 1940, many union study groups debated and dramatized the issues. The Cultural Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers issued more than one and a half million lively leaflets for the education of the voters.

Trade union training for new members, executive boards, would-be business agents, and for members of price committees, is an important

trend bringing both a challenge and an opportunity to workers' education in giving practical advice upon immediate problems. Research departments are run by some 30 unions; these co-operate closely with the Bureau of Labor Statistics in getting and giving information which can be popularized in union classes.

Harnessing workers' education to the immediate special problems of today and yet not forgetting to relate those problems to the general social perspective and the possible general changes of tomorrow—this is a task which workers' education in the unions must face—just as it must apply to larger ends the current interest in cultural, recreational and occupational subjects which has been made apparent in this survey.

The service given to union activists, who cannot be spared for long periods, may be in part responsible for the trend to using holiday camps for short study courses. All the summer schools have introduced short courses and institutes for the same reason. A wider use of movies, radio, and informal teaching methods with knowledge sought for a specific situation rather than long general background courses taught in formal classes are noticeable.

Problems

One of the handicaps suffered by workers' education is the difficulty of recruiting and capturing the interest of union members and leaders.

For the most part workers' education receives little notice in the general press*. Even the labor press does not play up the material which it receives and that material itself can be still considerably improved. Attractive bulletins, leaflets and journals, however, are to be seen more often than formerly.

There is a welcome increase in the appeals made by workers' education to all the members of the family. Slowly the idea of Junior Unions and other youth activities are being taken up. The *American Federationist* ran a youth page for many years but gave no active assistance.

*Even in such a comprehensive and highclass journal as the *N. Y. Times* a virtual boycott operates against describing representative and normal activities in workers' education carried on by unions. However, the *N. Y. Times* (December 22, 1939) featured on Page 1 the headlined story "School for Union Sabotage Bared as 8 Garment Men Plead Guilty." The denial by Local 150, United Machinists, affiliate of International Fur Workers Union (CIO) was put next day on Page 7 with single column headline and in one-fifth of space allotted to charge.

More helpful has been the activity of *Pioneer Youth* which conducts youth camps and assists unions such as the American Federation of Hosiery Workers to provide for the children of its members clubs and summer camps. (The methods and approach of Pioneer Youth are described in its "Handbook for Junior Union Leaders," 219 West 29th Street, New York City, 25 cents).

Workers' education broadly interpreted should be thus aimed at sons and daughters, wives and sweethearts, and give scope for the younger members. This will mean attractive lesson materials with a wider appeal. Although the situation is improving rapidly through the wealth of pamphlet material, workers' education is still short of good illustrated textbooks and lesson materials. Away back in 1923 when the AFL published a study of social studies in public schools, it found reactionary pressure groups at work. Its own careful report found "errors, misstatements of facts and misplaced emphasis" in the textbooks, and the nature of many school and college texts rules out their use in workers' education classes.

Only within recent months has the American labor movement begun to plan a movie on the life of Gompers. More movies of social significance and visual aids of every kind are needed by the unions to brighten their meetings and make classes more attractive. Nationwide and regular radio programs to inform the general public what labor is doing are an obvious necessity for improved public relations.

Better methods of reporting and evaluating the educational activity in unions are needed. Most reports are "statistics shy," partly because it is difficult to measure informal activities and educational results. Sometimes union leaders are too impatient for results. Then too, let it be confessed, the early enthusiasm of the activist sometimes does not survive the disappointment created by the gap between his hopes and the realities, between the number of members invited, those registered and those who actually carry through to the end of the course.

Another problem is the lack of suitable classrooms. Few union headquarters have premises in which classes can enjoy quiet and be free from interruption. Even when public schools are used, the equipment of fixed seats is often not conducive to a discussion circle by adults. We are far from the ideal school described by N. L. Engelhardt in "Planning the Community School."

Workers' education in the unions has many problems: The "academic freedom" of the teacher and his difficulties when the union organi-

zation is being battled for by various factions. "Security of tenure" has also its own peculiar difficulties when, in many cases, the educational director has to raise the major portion of his own budget as in the case of local labor colleges and resident schools.

Much remains to be done. Although the Illinois miners were early active in workers' education, the United Mine Workers has no general plan and few of its locals are interested. The powerful railroad brotherhoods confine their educational activity to trade matters and their own journals. Despite some attempts made, the organized teachers do not pull their full weight in assisting their fellow trade unionists in this field. The SWOC has not followed through with its summer institutes and series of training institutes. Very few state federations and councils apply themselves seriously enough to education. There are large areas which are untouched because there is no adequately financed central body to undertake promotional work.

Another serious difficulty is the natural desire of each union to run its own work independently. Training for union service with competent teachers and directors is most needed in the smaller towns, but no pooled fund exists to finance this. Factional political groups too often attract and squander the energy and enthusiasm of youth which should find outlet in long-time union activity. Too often the unions only maintain spasmodic activity. Too often, the officers are disappointed if an early and extensive response is not secured.

The study of the industry in which a union's members are engaged and detailed procedures of negotiation and administration will remain particular to each union, but there is much general education on labor history and economics which could be better done by inter-union groups. The AFL-CIO split has strengthened the isolationist tendency, and all attempts at nation-wide, inter-union co-operation, as best seen in the Workers Education Bureau and the American Labor Education Service, receive too little support relative to the importance and urgency of their task. The shoestring resources and high mortality rate of resident labor colleges also reflect lack of unity and interest. Publications greater in quantity and higher in quality, an educational radio service, a labor distribution and production service for movies of social significance, training centers for would-be teachers, an extended plan of summer schools, youth activity, greater activity by state federations and city central labor unions—these are only a few of the possible lines of expansion.

Conclusion

As this pamphlet has shown, workers' education has broadened its scope to include a wide variety of cultural and recreational activities. Workers' education is carried on today through many types of projects—camera clubs, hikes, tap dancing, dramatics, visual and graphic presentation of material, radio, recreation and music—as well as through classroom work. It concerns itself also with the provision of health facilities for the workers, vacation homes and opportunities for members of the workers' family to have a good time under the auspices of the union. There are information, research and publicity services and a varied mimeographed and printed labor press. Social activities, vocational training opportunities, general studies in social science as an antidote to dangerous economic illiteracy, specific studies of industries and unions and a variety of learning-by-doing projects and training for immediate service in labor unions—these are all part of the picture. The variety of agencies which have tried to meet these needs has been outlined.

It is impossible to overrate the significance and importance of the development of workers' education as a measure of social awareness. The more powerful the unions become in their industrial and political activity, the greater will be the need for a fundamental understanding of social problems which should remain the central point in workers' education. Only a systematic study of the social sciences will give the union members the required knowledge. The unions have the double task of informing their own members and training their officers concerning the methods and goals of the trade unions, and also of interpreting to other sections of the community their aims and purposes in relation to the welfare of society as a whole.

Join the League for Industrial Democracy

The League for Industrial Democracy is a membership society engaged in education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit. To this end, the League issues pamphlets, conducts research, lecture and information services, organizes city and college chapters and sponsors conferences, forums, luncheon discussions and radio talks.

Membership in the League is open to those who favor the principle of production for use and not for profit, the principle of social ownership and democratic control of the key industries of the country. Others are welcome as auxiliary members.

Members receive the six or more pamphlets published during the year by the League, the *L. I. D. News-Bulletin*, issued quarterly, and notices of all of the League's important gatherings. They select the League's Board of Directors. In cities where League chapters exist, members are also entitled, without extra dues, to membership in the local chapters.

The yearly L.I.D. dues are: Active members, \$3; Contributing members, \$5; Sustaining members, \$10 to \$25; Life members, \$100.

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